August 23, 1952

25 Years Since Sacco and Vanzetti

THE Nation

"If it had not been for these thing, I might have live out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have die, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

Bartolomeo Vanzetti

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Tennessee's Verdict

Memphis, Tenn.

TENNESSEE voters, still burning from accusations that Tennessee did not act like a Southern state in the Democratic National Convention, came out in record numbers on August 7 to tell the nation it was all a horrible mistake. Governor Browning, who as chairman of the state delegation cast the vote against seating the Virginia delegation, was roundly defeated for renomination by Frank Clement, thirty-two-year-old commander of the American Legion of Tennessee and ex-FBI man.

After the convention there was a deafening outcry, especially from enemies of Browning, that the famous vote had not expressed the wishes of the people of the state. Members of the delegation replied that most Tennesseeans had wanted to see their favorite son, Estes Kefauver, nominated, and in pursuit of that end it was necessary to vote against seating representatives of the Southern Dixiecrats. It was Virginia, North Carolina, and Louisiana, they maintained, that had not acted like Southerners, when they refused to sign the loyalty oath. Why should a state be allowed to participate in the Democratic convention if it would afterward do everything possible to get the Democratic nominee defeated? Many of the Tennessee delegates, along with other true Southern Democrats, had felt that those three states wanted to leave the way open for another Dixiecrat revolt if Russell did not get the nomination, and they were not going to let them get away with it.

However, the average Tennesseean was unhappy about the part the state had played at the convention. Perhaps if Kefauver had won, it would have been different. But he hadn't, and Tennessee had found itself in strange company—the Northern liberals and the Democratic "left." This hurt the conservative soul of Tennessee, and on primary day it tried to save face.

Actually, the results reflected the problems and paradoxes of Tennessee at the present time. Tennessee is a Southern state and usually tries to act like one, but its increasing industrialization, together with TVA and Oak Ridge, have had a decidedly liberalizing effect. In certain sections Tennessee is far ahead of the rest of the South and even of much of the nation. Although little is being said about it, Tennessee is making progress in eliminating racial prejudice, partly no doubt as the result of the many federal-government offices in the state. Many Northern plants have discovered to their surprise that Southern whites and Negroes will work amicably together for the same wages, especially if the wages are good, and will pull together in their unions. Private Negro housing subdivisions in Memphis compare favorably with white subdivisions. Inter-racial groups are working on all kinds of projects throughout the state. There is a marked liberal undertow in Tennessee, though it is seldom mentioned. Nevertheless, Tennessee is part of the South and wants to remain part of the South. Even the liberal element dislikes too much publicity about its successes and is every bit as resentful of "Northern" interference as the non-liberals. Gordon Browning slipped up and had to go.

However, this does not mean that the election was a conservative landslide. The eighty-three-year-old Senator McKellar, in spite of the support of his good friend Boss Crump, was defeated for the first time in forty years, by the much more progressive Albert Gore. At long last Tennessee voted in favor of a limited constitutional convention to amend its ancient constitution. In Boss Crump's town of Memphis, where there have been charges of voting irregularities for years, the people voted to buy voting machines. The fact that Frank Clement had Crump's blessing does not mean that Crump has a hand-picked Governor. Tennesseeans were mad at Browning and wanted to give him a spanking, and Mr. Crump agreed.

The Volunteer State may be confused enough to elect a conservative Governor and two liberal Senators, but it doesn't want to be associated with any carpetbaggers or scalawags. If Gordon Browning wasn't a scalawag, he shouldn't have put himself in the position to be called one. Tennesseeans just don't like to see their Governor too closely associated with Northerners. They would rather lead the South than follow the North.

MARY MOSTERT

[*Mary Mostert is* The Nation's *correspondent in Memphis.*]

Never Say Dies!

Austin, Texas

WHEN former Representative Martin Dies of Lufkin, Texas, won a temporary seat in Congress as Congressman-at-large from Texas, his comment was that it proved that Texans agreed with him. A more likely explanation is the pulling value of a well-known name. Dies got 49.93 per cent of the 1,227,468 votes cast for the office—128,927 Texans who went to the polls didn't think the matter important enough to indicate their choice.

So far as is known, Dies made no campaign speeches and put up no placards. Nor did any of the other six candidates except Herb Petry, Jr., who made one radio speech, referring to Dies as "a warmed-over Joe McCarthy." Petry had been president of Lions International but was otherwise obscure.

Dies did get a good advance build-up by toying with the idea of running for the United States Senate seat held by Tom Connally. For months he had been frequently mentioned in the papers as a possible Senate candidate.

If the voters of Texas were indorsing Dies's ideas, they must have learned of them through a process of political osmosis. Texans vaguely remembered that Dies had been against communism. Few persons outside some civic clubs where he had spoken had any idea what he had thought about other public issues since his retirement from Congress in 1945 because of poor health.

During the last session of the Texas legislature Dies lobbied successfully to prevent Congressional redistricting so the at-large seat would be available for his comeback. For a time former Representative Maury Maverick was in the contest but withdrew on his doctor's advice. That left Dies with only relatively unknown men against him.

STUART LONG

[*Stuart Long is an Austin newspaperman.*]

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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

Ike's "Peace" Program

We advise General Eisenhower to watch his words if he wants to wage his campaign, as he constantly says he does, on the paramount issue of peace. When he declared last week in Denver that "mere containment" was not enough and urged "the restoration of the captive nations of Europe" he came perilously close to advocating a war of liberation—although he described the policy as part of a "true program for peace." His pronouncement came after a visit from the bellicose Representative Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin, who conferred with Eisenhower and then issued a statement from his headquarters attacking as "immoral" the idea of a negotiated settlement with Russia. Later the General carefully dissociated himself from this view, but his own remarks had a similar slant even if they were more carefully phrased. For he knows that a program which aims at "restoring" Russia's satellites is a war program. It means rolling back Russian power rather than containing it; it means an anti-Communist crusade rather than a policy of defense such as General Eisenhower was supposedly implementing through the organization of NATO.

Taken together with the recent aggressive statements of Mr. Dulles, who might easily become Secretary of State if the Republicans should win, Eisenhower's pronouncement is doubly disturbing. Let's find out exactly what the General's policy means—peace or a war of liberation.

High Cost of Politics

Members of Congress shuddered in a most bipartisan manner at the President's disclosure that he was considering a special session on inflation, and Republicans promptly accused him of playing politics. Well, either somebody had better play realistic politics with prices, or prices are going to play havoc with politicians.

As a result of amendments to the Defense Production Act and the gradual application of formulas included in the act last year, food prices jumped an estimated 1.5 points between June 30 and July 15. Congress last June knocked out all price controls on fruits and vegetables; now the drought threatens potato and corn crops, as well as cotton yields. Secretary of Commerce Sawyer apparently thinks the price rise has reached its peak. But Ellis Arnall, retiring head of the Office of Price Stabilization, thinks otherwise—and after all, he is the man who is signing the price increases made mandatory under the new laws.

Since Governor Stevenson is becoming *de facto* head of the Democratic Party, the President presumably would not call a special session against the Governor's will. The Governor has already announced that he is keeping hands off; we think that he would have done better to have spoken up. The question is a simple one: if prices continue to rise, the voters have the right to expect action even if Congressmen do prefer to stay home and campaign for reelection. A special session could provide the Office of Price Stabilization with needed tools for the control of food prices, as well as restore federal rent controls, the absence of which threatens a second assault on living standards.

Landing Craft for What?

The recent transfer of fifty American landing craft to Japan makes one wonder for what purpose the craft are to be used. Have the Japanese plans for aggression? Fifty of the unarmed boats might enable them to conquer a couple of Ellis Islands, hardly more. Defensively? Landing craft are not exactly ideal for landing troops on attacking Soviet battleships, the only defensive role we can think of for them off-hand. Most likely they will be used to ferry the National Police Reserve to help crush popular uprisings. Roads and railroads can be dynamited; the sea is an indestructible highway around Japan.

This kind of planning fits in very well with other recent measures taken by the increasingly rightist Yoshida government against the threat of civil disorder. An example is the "anti-subversive" bill which empowers a five-man commission to dissolve any organization "when there is sufficient reason to recognize the apparent possibility that it will conduct a destructive activity in the future." This commission, from whose decisions there is no appeal to the courts, can also arbitrarily ban the printing and distributing of material that "advocates or justifies" acts considered to be sub-

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versive. No wonder liberal Japanese say this bill sets up another "thought police"!

It is difficult to reconcile the bill with the free-speech and free-assembly provisions of the Japanese constitution. But the Japanese constitution, like other similar documents, is extremely elastic. For instance, it specifically bans remilitarization; yet only last week Premier Yoshida admitted that the American-equipped 75,000-man National Police Reserve was "the cornerstone of Japan's new army."

McCarran and the Boy Scouts

SENATOR McCARRAN is upset over the attempt of subversive elements to "infiltrate" church choirs and the Boys Scouts. "I can conceive of fewer greater crimes," he says; but has the crime been proved?

In the wake of the Senator's "sensational" disclosures, the principals of several New York schools which are supposed to have sheltered the teen-age subversives managed to make themselves heard. One principal accused the chief informer, a young man who has just turned twenty, of having made "serious misstatements of fact" while he was still a student in a New York high school—statements which he subsequently retracted. Other principals pointed out that only a handful of students had been named and called attention to the self-evident fact that left-wing student movements have been virtually non-existent since World War II. Yet apparently no effort was made by the staff of the McCarran committee to verify the statements of its student informers or to hear from the principals before the reports were released.

Among the witnesses upon whose testimony Senator McCarran based his charges was Harvey M. Matusow, formerly an investigator for the Ohio Commission to Investigate Un-American Activities. According to this witness, 500 students at Antioch College "support Communist Party activities" and "6 per cent of 1,200 students" are members of the Young Progressives of America. Intrigued by the statistical patness of this testimony, *The Nation* checked the facts with Douglas McGregor, president of Antioch. It seems that last spring Matusow visited the campus, spent an evening or two in the local tavern, and returned to Columbus with a hair-raising tale about subversive activities at Antioch. At no time during this brief visit did Matusow interview Dr. McGregor, nor, so far as is known, did he speak to any member of the faculty or administrative staff. Although Dr. McGregor presented a detailed refutation of Matusow's charges at a public hearing of the Ohio Commission which was widely reported in the press, the McCarran committee has seen fit to give national prominence to the charges without giving Antioch officials a chance to refute them. Indeed, the

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staff of the committee failed to check the facts with Dr. McGregor before presenting Matusow as a witness in Washington. To be sure, the charges, as Dr. McGregor notes, are "too ridiculous for comment," but they reflect on the intelligence and training of a notably self-reliant student body, and they may well have damaged the reputation of a fine college.

If state commissions should guard against smears of this kind—the Ohio commission at least gave Antioch officials a chance to comment on the charges—a Congressional committee should be doubly circumspect, since its capacity to damage the reputations of individuals and institutions is much greater. Of greater moment in this instance than the possible damage to the reputations of the schools, teachers, and administrative officials involved is the injury to the reputations of a dozen or more teen-age youngsters whose names have now been entered in the government's official black list.

But the McCarran committee is interested in headlines, not facts. The committee's staff must be scraping the bottom of the smear barrel if it can come up with nothing more substantial than this latest hoax.

Revolt in the Middle East?

ALTHOUGH the two new dictatorships erected in the Middle East in recent weeks differ in many important ways, both represent conservative nationalist interests. In Egypt Major General Naguib, having demolished the power of the corrupt Palace clique, is now out to purge the political leaders whom he holds equally responsible for the graft that infested and undermined the army. Naguib's chief civilian support is to be found in the more solid middle-class elements which, having gained in numbers and influence since the war, object to seeing the country's wealth drained off in the pockets of the oligarchy—Palace and politicians alike. Whether party rule in Egypt will survive the army purge is doubtful.

Iran is a somewhat different story. Premier Mossadegh has been granted full dictatorial powers for six months after a brief unsuccessful resistance on the part of more conservative factions in the Senate. But the shrewd old leader is threatened from two sides. While his stubborn refusal to compromise in the oil dispute with Britain won him wide support, it has reduced the country to bankruptcy and the people to a state of poverty even more abject than formerly. This, in turn, has stimulated unrest and increased the power of the outlawed Tudeh (Communist) Party. Premier Mossadegh's position is therefore shaky and his popular backing is unreliable.

But granting all the differences, the dictatorships in Egypt and Iran face a common and ironic necessity. To "cleanse" the greedy ruling groups, to drive out the British—these are not enough. No longer can the ambitious political leaders depend upon fanatic nationalism to deflect the anger of people deprived of all the decencies of life. It is a most significant sign of the times that one of the first executive acts of both rulers was to propose land reforms to ease the burdens of the peasants. Mossadegh decreed the end of all feudal obligations and ordered landlords to turn back to individual peasants and peasant councils 20 per cent of the annual receipts from their estates. He has followed this with a still more drastic decree levying taxes up to 10 per cent on the value of large land holdings and other forms of real estate. Naguib issued a series of "draft laws" providing for the distribution of large estates among the poorest peasants. (The incredible poverty of Egypt's masses is dramatically described by Carolus in this issue of *The Nation.*) Whether these plans are sufficient and in time, remains to be seen. What cannot be ignored, however, is the fact that dictators Mossadegh and Naguib felt forced to promise reforms which, if carried out, would reduce the power and profits of their own principal backers. Their action offers an opportunity to the United States to throw its weight behind policies which might conceivably open the way for a democratic agrarian revolution in the Middle East. The chance may not be very good, but it is likely to be the last we shall have, especially in Iran. Revolution crowds on the heels of nationalism, and Russia is waiting at the back door with plans of its own and with a party set to carry them out.

CAMPAIGN NOTES

MOST NEWSPAPERS SUPPORTING GENERAL Eisenhower have been trying to generate some cheer and optimism in Republican ranks by pointing to the results of recent primaries in Arkansas and Missouri. These results, the Republican press contends, indicate a strong anti-Truman and, by implication, anti-Stevenson trend. But "Trumanism" was not a significant factor in either primary; the trend indicated by these elections is not against the Democrats but toward independent voting.

In Arkansas, Judge Francis A. Cherry, a political newcomer, carried sixty-seven of seventy-five counties, rolling up a majority of 100,000 votes in the run-off primary in which he defeated Governor Sid McMath. Wholly ignored by the professional politicians, he was regarded as a likely fifth-place contender in the first primary. But Judge Cherry is a "loyal" or "regular" Democrat and he did not campaign as an "anti-Truman" candidate. On most issues he is quite as progressive as

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Governor McMath; for example, in several campaign speeches he indorsed the policy of admitting Negroes to the state university. In fact, neither civil rights nor "Trumanism" figured as issues in the campaign. For the most part, Judge Cherry talked about corruption in the state government, particularly in the Highway Department, and there was enough substance to his charges to make the issue a good one.

The notion that Governor McMath's defeat spells trouble for Stevenson is largely based on the fact that Senator John L. McClellan, one of President Truman's severest critics, indorsed Judge Cherry in the run-off primary. But the indorsement was an after-thought; in the first primary Senator McClellan supported another candidate. Since McMath had announced his intention of opposing Senator McClellan two years hence, the latter naturally jumped aboard the Cherry band wagon once the surprising results of the first primary were announced. There is every reason to believe, however, that Judge Cherry would have defeated Governor McMath without Senator McClellan's indorsement.

• • • • •

AS A MATTER OF FACT JUDGE CHERRY'S USE of the new "talkathon" technique—a public forum in which the candidate sits before a radio or television studio audience and answers thousands of telephoned questions—was the decisive factor in his initial victory. On July 2 Judge Cherry answered more than 5,000 questions in a twenty-four-hour talkathon during which the telephones seldom stopped ringing, even at four o'clock in the morning. Somehow the Judge managed to stagger through the ordeal, interrupting his question-and-answer routine now and then to make appeals for campaign contributions. This particular talkathon cost about $3,000; the contributions totaled $7,500. The state-wide reactions were so favorable, in fact, that Judge Cherry promptly began to cancel personal appearances and to schedule more two-, four-, and eight-hour talkathons.

The talkathon technique is the copyrighted invention of Bob Venn, a radio and television director of Houck and Company, a Miami advertising agency. It was first used in its present form in the Florida gubernatorial primary last March. When Mr. Venn sells the talkathon idea, he supplies a crew of technicians, radio announcers, and public-relations wizards to put on the show. The candidate pays a fee for the service, but the profit to the agency comes from the standard 15 per cent commission on all advertisements placed in newspapers and time purchased on radio stations.

Right now Leonard Schmitt has just finished a twenty-five-hour political talkathon in his Wisconsin campaign to unseat Senator McCarthy. In this instance the fund drive run in conjunction with the question-and-answer session drew $1,492 in cash and $200 in pledges. While part of the success of the talkathon is doubtless due to its novelty, it is obviously a most ingenious device for enabling a candidate to establish a direct person-to-person relationship with thousands of voters and at the same time make his views known to a state-wide audience. If the talkathon helps Leonard Schmitt defeat McCarthy, some special award for outstanding public service will have to be made to the inventive Mr. Venn.

• • • • •

ACHIEVED WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF A talkathon, W. Stuart Symington's victory over Attorney General J. E. (Buck) Taylor for the Democratic senatorial nomination in Missouri offers as little comfort to the Republicans as the results of the Arkansas primary. The President's support of Taylor—given to redeem a promise of support made in 1950—was purely perfunctory, and "Trumanism" was no more a factor in this primary than in the Arkansas run-off.

Mr. Symington's better than two-to-one majority is a striking illustration of the rising strength of the independent vote. By comparison with the small margin by which Senator Thomas C. Hennings won the Democratic nomination over a machine-supported candidate in 1950, Symington's plurality of more than 200,000 is truly impressive. It greatly increases the likelihood that Senator James P. Kem, renominated by the Republicans, will be defeated in November, and it marks a sound defeat for the city machines largely achieved with the aid of Republican and independent votes. It also represents a sharp repudiation of "smear" tactics. Mr. Symington, instead of attempting to answer a barrage of smears, campaigned on the issues and won.

The Callahan machine in St. Louis supported Mr. Symington but only because, fearful that it would lose control of the county, it sought to hitch-hike a free ride back into office. The voters of St. Louis showed a nice sense of discrimination by voting for Symington and against Sheriff Callahan. The Sheriff was not nominated.

• • • • •

WISCONSIN'S PRIMARY ON SEPTEMBER 9 WILL give the country its first opportunity in several years to judge at first hand what the rank-and-file of Wisconsin voters think of Joe McCarthy. What many of Wisconsin's leading citizens—including mayors, labor leaders, churchmen, businessmen, and prominent university people—think of him will be revealed in next week's *Nation* through a symposium entitled Wisconsin Looks at McCarthy. Along with these comments, *The Nation* will print a timely analysis by William Gorham Rice, Jr., of the University of Wisconsin Law School, of the meaning of that new word in America's vocabulary—McCarthyism.

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The Ten Plagues of Egypt

BY CAROLUS

Bonn

ONE day in the spring of 1944, when I was taking my usual walk through the streets of Cairo in the neighborhood of the Abdin royal palace, I witnessed the kind of sudden, noisy, and hysterical commotion that is possible only in the Orient. Hundreds of children and beggars, half-naked and covered with sores, were shouting and running after a camel, which was fleeing from its pursuers with gigantic steps. The iron railings of the palace stopped the beast in its tracks. Through the gate it could see the green shady lawns and the splashing fountains. The camel sniffed and snorted; then, hearing the cries of its tormentors, it took one leap over the royal gate and landed on the palace lawn. The amazed soldiers on guard kept back the crowd, which included the owner of the camel, a butcher whose slaughtering knife it had escaped.

General Naguib

King Farouk had witnessed the scene from a palace window and sent down an aide-de-camp to learn the cause. The officer reported to him and then returned to the gate and slipped into the rough hands of the butcher several soothing gold coins—more than twice the value of the camel. Afterward the King ordered the animal sent to a royal farm, with instructions to give it food and care for the rest of its life. If I had not seen this myself, I should have taken it for an episode from the Arabian Nights. The Egypt of today is in many respects like a tale from the days of Harun-al-Rashid; yet it lives among us and in our time. But how does it live?

Millions of workers and fellaheen, children and men and women of all ages, envied the camel. Food and shade to the end of its days—for 80 per cent of the Egyptian people that would spell heaven. The Mizraim of the Bible is still as the Bible described it three thousand years ago—a land of slavery and the ten plagues. Ninety-five per cent of the wealth of the country is in the hands of a thin stratum of pashas, landlords, bankers, and industrialists who with their families do not form 1 per cent of the population—not even half of 1 per cent. The Rockefellers, Morgans, and Fords may be rich; dozens of pashas on the Nile make a greater display of wealth. The richest of them was King Farouk, descendant of Albanian adventurers who came to Egypt with the Turks. Most of the Egyptian nobility of today are of Turkist descent and live in the luxury described in Oriental fairy tales.

The people, afflicted with all the ten plagues of the Bible, live, starve, sicken, and die in unimaginable misery. The police of a Western country would not permit pigs and goats to be kept in the huts of Egyptian villages. Egypt has a population of eighteen to twenty million; 58 per cent suffer from bilharziasis, the terrible eye disease which causes premature blindness. Sixty per cent of the children die before reaching the age of six. The Nile, the source of all life in a rainless country, is at the same time a source of death. It breeds a microbe which enters the blood through the skin and brings death in the course of a few years to the fellaheen, who cannot keep their bare feet out of it as it floods the thirsty land. Thirty years is the average expectancy of life in Egypt.

As for hospitals—a wealthy deputy of the Wafd Party whose son presented him with an ambulance for the use of the peasants on his property was accused in Parliament by his colleagues of "spoiling" the people. "Allah has rightly made mortality so high; we would all starve if it were not so." In the towns thousands of homeless, naked children are organized into bands of thieves and beggars. Just before the harvests the police catch them in the streets and sell them to the pashas for two Egyptian pounds apiece. The children know what is before them—starvation, the whip, and disease—and many are willing to lose an arm or a leg under a street car in order to escape transportation into slavery.

But in Egypt corruption is the crown of all evil. It rots the laws, the parties, the courts, the civil authorities, the army, the police, and the throne. In the winter of 1943-44 huge sums were collected from the urban middle class, that is from the foreigners, to aid the people of Upper Egypt, who were dying by the thousand of malaria and malnutrition. Little of this money reached those it was supposed to help. Even Prime Minister Nahas Pasha was accused in the press of having

CAROLUS, known to readers of The Nation *as its correspondent in Germany, has spent much time in Egypt.*

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Egypt's New Master

London

Ex-King Farouk miscalculated the degree to which General Naguib, Egypt's new "strong man," had become the spokesman of the younger army officers, who blamed Egypt's defeat by Israel in 1948 on corrupt senior generals and army contractors. Naguib's own bitterness was all the sharper because he was himself incorruptible.

Naguib was wounded three times during the war, and after its close was given command of a division on Israel's border. Correspondents who met him then did not take seriously his frank insistence that an anti-Palace revolt was needed. But his adoring junior officers believed his every word.

Matters approached a climax when the Officers' Club in Cairo, spurning Farouk's nominees, elected Naguib president. The King retaliated by closing down the club. When an irate army demanded that Naguib be appointed Minister of War, Farouk refused and maneuvered to appoint his young brother-in-law. Nine hours after this exhibition of nepotism, the army seized control of Cairo; three days later Farouk sailed into exile.

General Naguib received his military training under the British and gets along well with British army types. His is an honest and self-critical nationalism, unmarred by anti-foreign prejudice, and he has assured the British Foreign Office that reform, not revolution, is his aim. It is interesting that the first piece of important domestic legislation sponsored by Naguib should be a land-reform bill designed to break up all estates of more than 200 acres.

ANDREW ROTH

kept 160,000 Egyptian pounds for his own use. Tons of drugs, especially quinine, given by America to aid Upper Egypt were stolen and sold on the black market. During the war Nahas's wife and brother-in-law acquired millions by selling sugar to Turkey—whence it went to Germany. So it is hardly surprising that the war against Israel was regarded as another method of enrichment. Princes, courtiers, officials, and generals made their fortunes from it. Farouk tried to cover up the scandal and to keep his most faithful companions out of jail. That was the ostensible reason for his fall.

The true cause lies much deeper. The social question is hammering at the gates of palaces and governments in Cairo, in Tehran, in Iraq, in Syria, in Jordan. Throughout the Middle East social and economic conditions can be compared only with those in France before 1789 or Russia before 1917. A grasping upper class, insignificant in number but holding all the country's wealth in its hands, faces millions wallowing in filth and misery. If the same conditions exist, the same causes, are not the same effects inevitable?

The Egyptian upper class has hitherto managed to evade the social question by turning it into a national question and diverting popular hatred to the foreigners. "The English and the Americans, the French and the Greeks, the Jews and Zionism—these are the causes of your misery. Get rid of them and you will have milk and honey." But this pretense carried its own dangers. One of the big pashas confessed to me in Cairo in 1945: "Bad times are coming for us. We should beg the English on our hands and knees to stay here. But it is too late. We have pushed nationalism too far. The people would tear us to pieces."

THE Tories in the British foreign and colonial offices were as blind as the pashas. Instead of forcing land and social reforms by allying themselves with the progressive elements of the great Wafd Party, the English continued to tie their power to the fate of the small upper class. This class and the Palace, in order to save themselves, threw the English to the wolves. Britain itself had blown the nationalist horn by founding the Arab League. The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, war criminal and Hitler's ally, was brought to Cairo after the war with British help. Israel was to be offered as a wedding gift to Arab nationalism. The war in Palestine gave the English in Suez a breathing spell but proved a boomerang to them and to the pashas. The result of this adventure against Israel, which Farouk was still able to stop in time, was a sharpening of the social and economic crisis and a more rabid Egyptian nationalism. Demanding the Sudan as consolation for the lost war in Palestine, and also the evacuation of the Canal Zone, the people rose against the British. In Cairo on January 26, 1952, foreign hotels, stores, cinemas, banks, and clubs were burned to ashes. It was a foretaste of the horrors of a revolution brought about by a people 90 per cent illiterate, living and dying like animals.

The police did not try to help the foreigners on January 26, nor did the firemen, nor the government. In the evening, however, when vengeance against the foreigners was stilled, and there was nothing left to loot in foreign stores, the mob, obeying some whispered signal, started toward the royal palace. Then Farouk gave orders to the army to intervene. The affair provided Farouk with a welcome opportunity to get rid of his irreconcilable enemy, Nahas Pasha, and the Wafd government that he headed.

If the January 26 uprising had been nothing but a nationalist riot, the change of government would have meant no more than a shift of power within the Egyptian upper class such as has occurred often enough in recent years, and Farouk would still be sitting on his throne. Subsequent events have shown that the violence of that day was the thunder and lightning of a super-charged social atmosphere and that a greater explosion was in the

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making. When a disciplined army is affected by the passions of the people, it is a sure sign that conditions are ripe for a revolution. The officer corps had to revolt before Farouk could be driven out. When this happened, younger officers of middle-class origin replaced the supporters of the regime. The successful military coup within the popular revolutionary movement was backed by the small bourgeoisie, which had been carried along by the revolutionary current and is the chief bearer of the nationalist banner. This class has suffered severely from the financial and economic crisis through which the country is passing, and its national pride has been deeply wounded by the defeat in the Palestine war and the attending corruption. The upper class was so morally decadent and politically weak that it accepted the coup and willingly offered Farouk as a scapegoat.

But the pashas were wrong in thinking the King could take all their sins on his back and carry them with him into exile. The people are asking for more than a change of government. They want bread and land. Today the cry is for the division of the King's huge properties; tomorrow it will be for the division of all the land in Egypt. While it is true that Communist ideas are widely held by Egyptian students and intellectuals, and to a lesser extent by workers and peasants, Communist slogans were not needed to start the revolutionary ferment. For six years during the war the Berlin and Rome radios had promised land to the fellaheen, high wages to the workers, and high profits to the middle class when Hitler and Mussolini threw the English out of Egypt and Rommel made his triumphant entry into Cairo. Hitler and Mussolini have not come; but the English are reduced to holding the bastion of Suez. By ousting Farouk the pashas have only got rid of ballast. Even if yesterday's hero, Nahas Pasha, were to come back to power, supported by the Wafd Party, the army, and the nationalist small tradesmen organized in the Moslem Brotherhood, he would merely play the part of a Kerensky unless he quickly distributed the large estates and instituted a complete change in the social structure that would free the people from hunger and slavery.

The only place where Arab workers and peasants ever had schools and hospitals, hygiene and clean water, bread and clothing was in the former mandated territory of Palestine, and it was thanks to the Jewish inhabitants. Infant mortality was relatively low in Palestine, even for the Arab population. That is why first the mandated territory and later the state of Israel have been such a thorn in the flesh of the landowners of Egypt and other feudal Arab states.

Can McCarthy Win Again?

BY ROBERT H. FLEMING

Milwaukee

SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY of Wisconsin has a better than even chance of being reelected in November. Two unusual factors make his success probable. One is that he has reversed his customary political techniques and thus thrown his enemies off balance; the other is that the opposition was optimistic too soon. No one in Wisconsin is quite certain how carefully McCarthy planned the change in his technique—which has been never to answer charges but always to make them. The fact remains that for months Wisconsin has seen very little of him, and now his aides report that he will be out of action for some weeks in consequence of a major operation.

Late in July the Senator entered Bethesda Naval Hospital for repair of a hernia in the large muscle separating the chest and abdominal cavities. His staff said he would not be able to talk for from six to eight weeks. But he left the hospital soon afterward and said he would recuperate in northern Wisconsin. Medical sources report that the operation was not necessary at this time, that he might safely have waited until Mid-November.

Now, either as an invalid or as a martyr, McCarthy can pace his campaign in an unexpected way. He can also avoid the legal entanglements that might have ensnared him. There is a long and growing list of them: Drew Pearson is suing McCarthy and others for $5,100,000; McCarthy is suing Senator Benton for $2,000,000; McCarthy is suing the Syracuse (New York) *Post-Standard* for $500,000; and Charles Davis, who was convicted of espionage in Switzerland, is demanding $100,000 from McCarthy because the latter disclaimed the alleged connection between them. The recitation is important only because McCarthy might have had continuous dates with attorneys and judges instead of with Wisconsin voters if he had not undergone surgery.

The same surgery was one cause of the optimism of the opposition. But this very optimism helped McCarthy by inducing seven men to run against him. The energy and the funds of the anti-McCarthy forces are thus being diffused. McCarthy will have five opponents in the primary on September 9. An even more favorable circumstance for him is that there are two candidates in the

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Democratic primary. He profits from this situation because Wisconsin's election laws do not require party registration. Thus nominal Democrats, perhaps 150,000 to 200,000 of them, might go into the Republican primary to oppose McCarthy if there were no contest in their own party. Many may still do so, since the two Democratic candidates are about equally acceptable, though there is a measure of personal bitterness that will affect the vote.

The Democratic rivals are Henry S. Reuss and Thomas E. Fairchild. Reuss, convinced earlier than most that McCarthy could be beaten this fall, announced his candidacy last November and promptly began a state-wide campaign. Having the advantage of family wealth, he was able to give up his law practice for a year. He is making his third try for public office: in 1948 he ran second in a fifteen-man race for mayor of Milwaukee, and in 1950 he was his party's nominee for attorney general. He has had other training, too, that supports his ambition to serve in the Senate. After serving in the war as an infantry combat officer, he became deputy counsel for the Marshall Plan in Paris and later special prosecutor for an anti-corruption grand jury in Milwaukee.

Henry S. Reuss

Fairchild has not had such varied experience but has developed state-wide political strength. In 1948 he was elected attorney general, the first Democrat elected to a state office in sixteen years. Two years ago he ran for the United States Senate against Alexander Wiley, losing by 75,000 votes. One of Washington's wisest political observers predicted Wiley's election in these words: "Certainly he's a damned fool, but you can't say that on the radio and you can't say it in a newspaper advertisement, and if a man gets the damned-fool vote, he's well on the way to being elected."

Fairchild, along with some of his friends, reasoned that Wiley had fewer critics than McCarthy has and that Republicans with high moral standards may be seeking an alternative candidate. He made his decision just before the deadline for filing and took the Reuss group by complete surprise, since he had previously declared he would not run. He justified his action by saying he had become convinced that no one else could beat McCarthy. Unfortunately, the Reuss-Fairchild contest has divided the Wisconsin Democratic Party when it might have been solidly united for McCarthy's defeat.

The state Republican organization is strongly backing McCarthy. In July, Fred R. Zimmerman, a former governor seeking his tenth term as secretary of state, was denied the party's indorsement for reelection in part because he had said repeatedly that McCarthy should be beaten. Inquiry into the reasons for Republican support of McCarthy produces this explanation: McCarthy is a symbol. First of all, he defeated Robert M. La Follette, Jr., in 1946 and thus rid the conservative Republicans of the last La Follette. Then, in his crusade against alleged Communists in government service McCarthy was a slugging fighter against the Truman Administration. Wisconsin Republicans, like others, had been waiting for such a fighter.

The state leaders had not wanted Thomas E. Dewey in 1948 but had thought he would win. When he lost, they blamed him with a bitterness that still lasts and was behind the cheers with which they greeted Senator Dirksen's angry words about Dewey in the Republican convention. Wisconsin Republican leaders seldom discuss McCarthy's smear tactics, or his income-tax troubles, or the $10,000 he took from the Lustron Corporation. They don't defend McCarthy; they just swear by him.

They angrily denounce the one Republican rival who might upset McCarthy in the September primary—Len Schmitt, an upstate lawyer. Four other men are on the ballot but have given no sign of intending to wage a vigorous campaign. Schmitt, however, is serious. He is setting up his own amplifiers for dozens of street-corner appearances and preparing for radio "talkathons" in which he will spend twenty-five continuous hours bidding for wider recognition of his efforts. "One thing my tours of the state have shown me," he says, "is that there are thousands of people ready to confide that they are against McCarthy, even though they don't want to speak out publicly. They come around after I talk, shake hands, and promise their votes. If the September vote is large—and the Presidential campaign will stir up interest—a lot of people will do their bit against McCarthy in the solitude of the voting booths."

In four of the past five Presidential elections the state has been carried by the Democratic national ticket. Yet only in 1932 did Wisconsin elect a Democratic governor or senator. In one Milwaukee Congressional district Andrew J. Biemiller, a Democrat, won in 1944 and 1948 but lost to Charles Kersten, a Republican, in 1950. In all four elections Kersten's vote was approximately 70,000. Biemiller's ranged from 59,000 to 92,000. Wisconsin Democrats go to the polls in Presidential years. Never in Wisconsin history have they had a chance to decide a more important issue than the future of Joseph R. McCarthy.

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The Broadcast Lovett Didn't Like

[*During his regular Sunday broadcast from London on August 3, Howard K. Smith, chief of the CBS European Bureau, criticized NATO policy so sharply that Secretary of Defense Lovett took the unusual step of denouncing the broadcast at a Washington press conference and General Omar Bradley sent the radio commentator a letter of protest. In his next broadcast, on August 10, Mr. Smith took cognizance of the protests—and stood his ground.* The Nation *herewith reprints the relevant portions of both broadcasts.*]

Broadcast of August 3

SOME years ago it was decided that the main objective of Western enterprise was the creation of an international armed force. That force was to be so strong that, if the worst happened, it could successfully defend the West against Communist attack . . . or, at best, it could be used as a basis from which to bargain for a general settlement of differences with the Communists and avoid war altogether. The creation of that force was called the first condition for the survival of our civilization; therefore, the best minds we have and the lion's share of our wealth were devoted to it.

Yet, for so lavishly endowed and all-important a project, the history of its realization has been one of the strangest records of lack of foresight in modern times. It has been a succession of miscalculations of both our defense needs and our ability to fulfil them—flagrant miscalculations straining Europe's national economies close to the point of breakdown, each forcing a downward readjustment of targets, spreading disillusionment.

One of the few fortunate aspects of this curious record is that no political party involved can make political capital out of it; no one nation in the pact can honestly blame any other. General Eisenhower has had as much to do with it as the Democratic Administration; the governments of Europe have miscalculated as badly as, if not worse than, the United States government.

The record began in 1949 when, after putting their heads together for many months, the international experts came out with the estimate that we would have to put 406 divisions in arms in order successfully to beat back the Russians. That ridiculously extravagant figure began immediately to dissolve like a lump of sugar in a cup of hot coffee. When, at the end of 1950, the Atlantic Pact leaders met in Brussels, they came out with what was called the "realistic" estimate of 96 divisions.

The passing months then went to work on that figure, wearing big holes of doubt in it. [To reassess needs and capacities] the so-called Three Wise Men were appointed. After many months, the Atlantic leaders met at the celebrated Lisbon conference early this year, mulled over the Wise Men's recommendations—then let it be known that rock bottom had been reached. The figure of 50 divisions was all that was necessary and attainable. . . .

The passing months have done their abrasive work once more. Europe, at least, has been jarred back into the realm of international realities. The immediate incitement for that sad verdict was the announcement both in France and in Britain—the two chief European partners in the Atlantic Pact—that their Lisbon commitments could not be honored. Exactly what has happened in France is not clear. With no previous warning the French called in reporters and announced that the Americans had agreed at Lisbon to give France great financial help for three years to come. America, they said, had now gone back on that promise. Secretary Acheson, at a press conference in Washington, gave a different version: America, he said, had made no such big commitments to France. Whatever the rights in the dispute, the fact is that France will not be able to fulfil her Lisbon commitments.

Before the House of Commons, Prime Minister Churchill announced a similar default by Britain. "There can be no assurance of lasting military strength," he said, "without a firm economic foundation. . . . We must divert our resources from defense to export goods. Not to make this diversion would mean a plunge into [national] bankruptcy." Mr. Churchill would not say how great the cut was to be, but since it is the second curtailment of the British arms program within one year, the Lisbon commitments are clearly impossible of fulfilment.

Broadcast of August 10

This week vigorous exception has been taken to [my] broadcast [of August 3] by Secretary of Defense Lovett and General Omar Bradley. In a press conference in Washington Secretary Lovett quoted from the broadcast, according to a report in the London papers, and then said that such reporting was unjustified, defeatist, and irresponsible. In particular, according to the papers here, he said he had no reason to doubt that Britain would meet her Lisbon obligations. I am to receive, I understand, a strong letter from General Bradley, accusing me of misrepresentation. General Bradley's main factual objection is, I gather, my assertion that the experts' first estimate of the number of divisions [needed] was the ridiculously high figure of 406. My source for the figure is my own notes from the period and an article in the *Reporter* of April 15 by one

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of America's best reporters [the author is Theodore H. White—Ed.]. If the fact is wrong, the responsibility is entirely my own for stating it. If my broadcast gave a false impression in general, I apologize for that.

Unfortunately, in reporting this week's news from Europe, I have no choice but to say that a main object of comment over here continues to be the flagrant miscalculation of the experts at Lisbon. In the hope of precluding charges that I am unjustified, defeatist, or irresponsible, I quote the remarks of the past few days in the most responsible organs available here.

In an article entitled What Has Happened to the North Atlantic Organization? the London *Economist* led off with these words: "It is only six months since the Atlantic Council met at Lisbon. Yet already its chief member governments seem to be moving away from the programs adopted there on the basis of expert advice. The Lisbon program is withering away." In an editorial entitled A Lament for Lisbon, the Manchester *Guardian* writes: "The Lisbon targets never looked like being attained. . . . Now the summer has brought a drought of hopes and the momentum of last year for building defense has been lost." And the London *Times* says: "The almost visionary objectives then set for the increase in European armed strength will not be reached within the time specified."

In the past two weeks in Belgium there have been riots, and yesterday a general strike, against a two-year term of conscription. [On August 13 the Belgium Cabinet in effect reduced the period of service from two years to twenty-one months.—Ed.] According to press reports, the Italian government told America's defense experts that Italy would need much more aid if she were to fulfil her commitments. Last week in Paris the office of French Defense Minister Pleven registered the same complaint, but rather more loudly, with American reporters. . . .

As originally conceived, the North Atlantic organization was to be something new in history—an amalgamation, an integration of armed services and defense plans. It was to be an international executive, able to receive information and give orders. In fact, however, this conception has not been realized. It has apparently not given information; it has no power, and apparently is being completely disregarded by its members. Last week, when Pleven found the program not functioning as he planned, he did not send up the street in Paris to ask the organization about it; he sent his courier to Washington to complain to the United States.

The North Atlantic Pact is tending to degenerate, if that is not too strong a word, into one more old-fashioned military alliance, the whole financed largely by the United States. If the original idea were being fulfilled, if NATO had positive motives of reorganizing the Western world, interest in it would presumably continue. But as it is a negative league, then whenever the Russian menace dies down a bit, interest in it falls and resistance to its burdens grows.

Future of the Symphony Orchestra

BY JOHN H. MUELLER

IN THE eyes of Europe the United States has long been a country of high technical enterprise but low cultural potential. Americans have accepted this estimate and have consistently resorted to importation from abroad to gratify their artistic requirements. The brilliant symphony orchestras of many American cities, among the best in the world, were in the past largely staffed with foreigners, and 90 per cent of the music they played was foreign.

At present various prophets of doom are proclaiming a general decline in the high culture of the whole Western world. On the American scene commentators have observed the growth of the moving-picture audience with its distressing regression to adolescence, the descent of the legitimate theater to the depths of "show business," and radio and television programs geared to the taste of the "mass mind." They also point out that our fine symphony orchestras, which have been among the most convincing examples of American cultural maturity, must literally pass the hat in order to survive. In this article I propose to examine the evidences of this supposed cultural attrition as it affects the American symphony orchestra and to assess their validity.

Some of the symptoms render a pessimistic diagnosis quite plausible. The necessitous circumstances of even the most strongly intrenched orchestras are not in doubt. The large orchestras earn only about 50 per cent of their budget at the box-office. A few are able to expand their earned income by recordings and radio contracts, but endowments and outright annual gifts are generally relied upon to make up deficits. There was a lush

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period when philanthropists, some of them musicians in their own right, emancipated the queen of the arts from the rigorous law of the market place; today intensive campaigns must be put on to collect gifts in chicken-feed lots. Much has been made of the recent windfall of the remitted 20 per cent federal admissions tax, but no one can live on windfalls.

More disturbing still is the public's supposed indifference to serious music. While Boston and Philadelphia, for example, enjoy a sold-out season, smaller orchestras are often forced to flood the city with "comps" to assure an audience of decent size. Nor do people show any real interest in musical "progress." Conductors and composers bemoan the desire of the audience to relax in the presence of music instead of accepting modern music as a challenging intellectual exercise.

No less ominous is the decline in the number of amateurs in orchestral music. This group constitutes not only a reservoir from which new professional performers emerge but the core of the aggressive supporters of orchestral concerts. With its contraction, the sources of support of our great orchestras may dry up. Whatever musical interest still exists among American youth is being diverted to non-orchestral outlets. The acceptance of women in orchestras has provided some new players but the current trend has not been checked.

The decrease of amateur interest, especially in the strings, has also lowered the earning power of symphony players, who have always relied on teaching to supplement their seasonal income from the orchestra. The Boston orchestra "never stops playing," but other orchestras cannot offer year-round contracts. Men engaged for a twenty-five-week season at $100 a week must either teach or seek radio work, institutional jobs, or other off-season employment.

WE HAVE built up the symphony orchestra into a mammoth organization with, in some cases, a million-dollar budget. Will it prove sufficiently flexible to meet the competition of the times? Or will it, like the dinosaur, bog down to extinction? Will it soon be relegated to the museum as too unwieldy and costly to endure in the modern workaday world?

I do not mean to give the impression that the symphony orchestra once enjoyed a golden age in which it was secure from all ills. There were a few brilliant years of spectacular audience support for Toscanini in New York, Stokowski in Philadelphia, and Koussevitzky in Boston. But the orchestras had their financial troubles even then, for music was not the only love of philanthropic multimillionaires. Nor was the American audience always eager to attend to Beethoven, Brahms, or Wagner. Fritz Scheel, a predecessor of Stokowski, once said he was thankful that the conductor turned his back to his audience and could not see how small it was—perhaps only 600 persons in an auditorium with 3,000 seats. In most cities, even then, a strenuous campaign by volunteer workers was necessary to sell subscriptions. Even in Boston, where cultural traditions were very strong, conductors lost their jobs for box-office as well as musical reasons.

As a matter of fact, one could easily argue that American musical culture is today near its peak instead of in serious decline. Orchestras have actually been increasing in strength and number every decade. In 1900 the New York Philharmonic was a weak cooperative organization, playing six to eight pairs a season, with tentative standards of performance. The Cincinnati orchestra, founded in 1895, had passed through several dark seasons; Chicago, after some critical years, was just beginning to acquire strength. In the modern sense the St. Louis, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Minneapolis orchestras were not yet in existence; nor were San Francisco or Los Angeles. Hardly an orchestra was not closer to collapse in the early decades of this century than it is now. Only Boston was a going concern with the highest standards and plutocratic financial support. Today we have more than twenty major orchestras and some six hundred community orchestras more or less thriving. These grass-roots community orchestras, organized and guided by the Symphony Orchestra League, are an important development. In addition to their primary cultural value, they provide the major orchestras with the broad base required for the training of personnel and conductors—much as the minor leagues serve the big ball clubs.

Not only are there today more orchestras, more concerts, and longer seasons than at any time in the past, but the programs are more progressive. The dissemination of musical intelligence has been widened first by the phonograph and then by radio. Already only a fraction of the audience for Beethoven's Fifth listens to it in the concert hall. The relative decline in concert-hall support does not indicate a decline in musical interest but a change in the vehicle of its gratification. Individual musicians deplore the mechanization of their art, but the profession's fear of technological displacement is unfounded. "Canned" music is in the same category as canned milk—it does not displace the "producer."

The Boston orchestra in the last seven seasons received about a million dollars from recordings alone and in addition profited from full concert-hall attendance. Unfortunately, not all orchestras have sufficient prestige for such recordings, and most of them feel that a revision in the distribution of record incomes is in order. They are convinced that the records make money when the orchestra does not; whether they themselves should go into the business of record distribution, as has been suggested, cannot here be debated. The long-run effect on the concert hall is still problematical. Will recordings whet the public appetite for live music or satiate it?

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25 Years Since Sacco and Vanzetti

BY LOUIS JOUGHIN

SHORTLY after midnight on August 23, 1927, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were legally but unjustly put to death. This failure of law and justice to coincide in the most famous of American criminal cases caused the tensions and cleavages in our society to be seen with frightening clarity. It is therefore fitting that now, twenty-five years later, in a time of even greater division, we should recall this case—not sentimentally but with the greatest seriousness and sincerity.

The Sacco-Vanzetti trial revealed two serious defects in Massachusetts legal procedure and in that of the United States generally. First, procedure built on the idea of a trial as a contest between adversaries may yield a fair decision in a civil suit, where the opponents are approximately of equal strength, but may fail to do so in a criminal case, where one party is the government. The resources of investigation which the prosecutor commands, and his consequent control of evidence, place the defendant at a disadvantage. Second, the frequently contradictory testimony of expert witnesses bewilders the juror; he must make a decisive choice between authorities who have just been qualified as superior to him in knowledge. Both these impediments to fair criminal trials still exist, and the legal profession and the courts must be blamed for not having taken steps to remove them.

The case also gave ample proof that the American people in 1927 were capable of intense hostility toward dissident members of society and that a miscarriage of justice, no matter how flagrant, could not be averted if the victims were sufficiently detested. Have we come to our senses in 1952?

The evidence is mixed. Local police and prosecutors seem generally less inclined to "build a case," but wiretapping, seizure without warrant, and false arrest are still common. As for the courts, the conflicting trends in current decisions are too complex for summary analysis.

In the last two decades persecutory action has shifted from the station house and the courtroom of a Judge Thayer to the legislative hall. Congress has passed the Smith act, establishing mere "advocacy" as subversion; the McCarran act, establishing "guilt by association" in part through similarity of ideology; the 1952 Immigration Act, with its Damoclean threat to the security of the naturalized citizen. In its investigating committees Congress continues to examine witnesses with a freedom which would never be permitted to a prosecutor, while denying them the due process which should prevail in a quasi-judicial proceeding. Katzmann's merciless inquisition of Sacco about his patriotism has had its progeny.

Defects in legal procedure and the threat of a massive pathological hostility specifically link the twenties with the present. Sacco and Vanzetti, however, were philosophical anarchists. In fairness to them, and for our own completeness of understanding, we must assess the implications of their social credo.

Sacco and Vanzetti believed in the virtues of a simple society in which the minimum of authority or government yields the maximum of happiness to the individual; Vanzetti told the judge that the day would come when "your laws, institutions, and your false god are but a dim *remembering of a cursed past in which man was wolf to the man. . . .*" They did not offer a scheme for the integration of an infinitely complex industrial economy; they could not or would not reconcile their naive political ethics with the fact that government is the result of social living rather than the invention of the devil. Nevertheless, these men, particularly Vanzetti in his extraordinary letters, are not to be shrugged off.

First, the sophistication and humor of Vanzetti can help to turn us from feeble doctrinaire controversy. When we meet the noble irony of a man about to die, we should be less concerned about today's recantation by the latest anti-anti-anti-Quidnunc. Second, these men saw clearly the fundamentally childish paradox of American social behavior; they asked how long we will continue to mouth the idealism of brotherhood while expertly practicing the techniques of intensive competition. They recognized the simple arithmetic of the situation—if one man rises, another falls. Finally, these unschooled men possessed historical sense; they knew that no nation lives and rules supreme forever.

The example of intellectual and emotional self-discipline set by Sacco and Vanzetti gives important validation to their philosophy of life. If in 1952 we renew our acquaintance with the story and the thought of these men, Vanzetti's final hope will be fulfilled. A few hours before his execution he wrote: "What I wish more than all in this last hour of agony is that our case and our fate may be understood in their real being and serve as a tremendous lesson to the forces of freedom—so that our suffering and death will not have been in vain."

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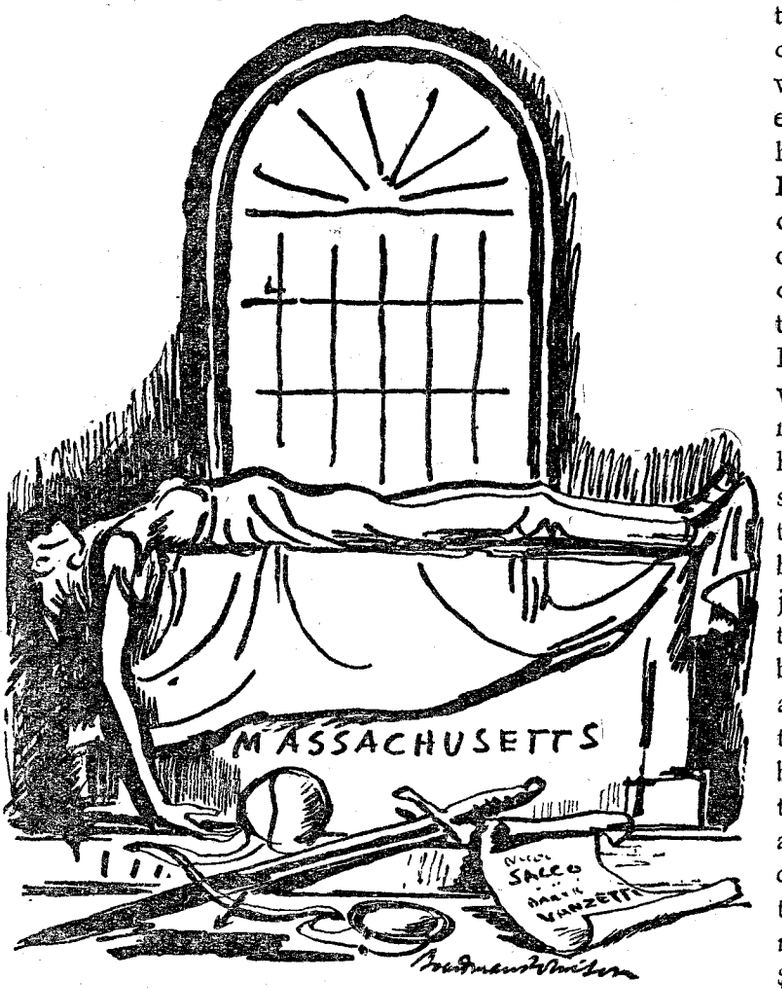
[*The following is extracted from an editorial by Oswald Garrison Villard in* The Nation *of August 31, 1927. The drawing by Boardman Robinson is from the same issue.*]

AS for Sacco and Vanzetti, for whom life's fitful fever has now run its course, why grieve for them? Their long agony is over, and they were philosophers and students of history enough to know that their sacrifice was worth more to the rationalizing of human life than would have been their release and their return to comparative obscurity. John Brown wrote just before his execution that he was "worth infinitely more to hang than for any other purpose." He spoke more truly than a Tory Southern colonel who, standing at the foot of the scaffold, looked at Brown's dangling body and said: "So perish all such enemies of Virginia! All such enemies of the Union! All such foes of the human race!"—two years later he was doing his best to destroy the Union. The very act which blots out the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti insures their eternity in any social history of the United States. The mere threat of their death produced an amazing international solidarity. When before have multitudes awaited with grief and rage in the Argentine, Japan, Yugoslavia, Italy, all over the world, news of the execution of two American "highwaymen"? When before did the second largest political party in Great Britain officially throw itself into the breach in an endeavor to save the lives of two "criminals"?



Whatever else may be said of Sacco and Vanzetti, there can be no doubt that the souls of these two men grew and broadened and gained in knowledge and strength while they were behind the bars. When men face death, many things are made clear to them; many scales drop from their eyes. We defy anyone to read Vanzetti's address to the court or Sacco's farewell to his son, and say that these were written by bloodstained hands. Alvan T. Fuller to save his life could pen no words like these. But assuming they were guilty, then here in all truth is complete proof of the possibility of the uplifting and redemption of the vilest wrongdoers. Vanzetti's extraordinary utterances have led many besides Heywood Broun to characterize him as one of the great men of the day. In the circle of those close to Governor Fuller we have heard words of profound admiration for Sacco for his courage and his consistency, and the wish that he could be known better and his mind enjoyed. And these men the world is asked to believe were cowardly assassins and robbers, these men who led blameless lives until they are said to have appeared with three confederates — never traced—in a Buick car never traced—to steal $16,000—never traced.

No, they may swallow this who will. To it we cannot bring our minds or our consciences. But innocent or guilty, these men made their mark. Their bearing in the face of death, their shining courage, their resignation, the range of their spirits—these are deathless things, and somehow or other the memory of them goes on in the hearts of men. No one can say what it all means or foretell where this case will end. But this is clear: This legal murder in Boston will profoundly and adversely affect the international relations of the United States and its moral standing throughout the world for at least a decade to come.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Perspective on China

REVOLUTION IN CHINA. By Charles Patrick Fitzgerald. Frederick A. Praeger. $4.50.

AMERICA has not yet adjusted itself to the vast revolution that is transforming China. Nearly three years after the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic we are still quarreling among ourselves about the blame for this massive event. C. P. Fitzgerald, a distinguished British historian writing in Australia, provides some useful perspective in a brilliantly written and provocative analysis, "Revolution in China." He is well known to specialists for his scholarly cultural history of China. His present book is written for everyone interested in contemporary international affairs. Although I disagree with many of his conclusions, it is refreshing to read someone who knows his modern China and is outside both the strident wrangle of American politics and the anti-Communist crusade.

Surprising as it may seem to some Senators, the revolution in China is primarily the concern of the Chinese people. It is happening to them. They, not the State Department or the Politburo, were the arbiters between the Communists and the Kuomintang. It is they who will suffer or benefit most from its results. Fitzgerald keeps our eye on the main scene—modern China in revolutionary change.

As he sees it, the Communist victory and program are only the latest phase of a massive cultural renovation that is adjusting China to the realities of the modern world. There were three main stages of this process during the past half-century: increasing anarchy while the pillars and bastions of the old order toppled; the search—often in blind alleys—for a new pattern of society; and the reappearance of the fundamental concepts behind the old Chinese social order in a form fitted to the modern world. The Communist regime represents the last of these stages.

Thus Fitzgerald sees communism in China fundamentally as a nativist movement reverting to the basic content of Chinese civilization while employing modern Western forms. This view is startling and provocative, but in my opinion dubious. It rests on a series of doubtful analogies. The old concept of a single world empire coterminous with civilization is equated with the modern Communist world. Confucian doctrine, a rigid orthodoxy which sought to harmonize all the activities of the human being and provide a code of ethics, of politics, and of every other activity, including economics, is shown to be similar in spirit to the all-embracing and rigid orthodoxy of Marxism. The Chinese principle of rule by an élite, steeped in this doctrine, is precedent for rule by the Communist élite. Authoritarian rule under the empire is equated with totalitarianism under the party. "In these old Chinese ideas, whether in their ancient form or new guise, there is no place for freedom as the West understands it, no place for salvation as the Christian understands it, and no place for individualism as the liberal would have it. But the old Chinese ideas fit very well into the new pattern."

But these analogies show similarities of approach, not of content. Particularly suspect is the equation of traditional Chinese authoritarianism with Communist totalitarianism. These are far apart. Autocratic the imperial government certainly was, and Confucianism was indeed intolerant of heterodoxy. But Chinese government never sought to regiment every aspect of Chinese social and economic life. Rather the contrary, government was content to preside over a society and economy which was left largely to operate itself. Large areas of individual and group life were outside the concern of the state. This is not totalitarianism, no matter how autocratic or despotic one or another ruler may have been. That artistic and intellectual life flourished under a tyrant of the eighth century or the eighteenth says nothing about the possibilities for artistic and intellectual creativity under a modern totalitarian regime.

Fitzgerald was cultural attaché of the British embassy in China from 1946 to 1950, when the Communist army swept from its scattered guerrilla areas and border regions to conquer the entire country. In his view the victory, which was final, depended upon the support of the peasantry and the educated class, those twin pillars upon which every Chinese government has rested.

He is deeply critical of the Kuomintang regime. A prisoner of its own past, the Kuomintang's policy was a medley of contradictions. It attempted to modernize China without interfering with the land system. It denied the practice of democracy while pretending to prepare the people for it. It proclaimed and taught nationalism, yet prior to 1937 it yielded step by step to the national enemy, Japan. Its fundamental weakness—the ultimate cause of the National government's downfall—was the failure to carry the revolution through to the villages. This lost it the peasantry, while the lack of an inspiring and really satisfying ideology lost it the educated class. Nationalism alone was not enough.

Fitzgerald tries faithfully to see things in Chinese terms and with historical detachment. However, it seems to me he is sometimes naive with regard to the Communist regime. He seems to reflect the 1950 era of the "common program" before the dictatorship really began to bite. I doubt if the "national capitalists" and small merchants are now as sympathetic toward the regime as he reports. And he is quite mistaken about the absence of a program of land collectivization. It is already cautiously under way, and the mutual-aid teams, cooperatives, and state farms are admitted steps in that direction.

China is now tied to Russia. Will this long be so or is there a chance of Titoism? While Titoism is unlikely, Fitzgerald believes that over the long run China will develop its own brand of communism and will rise to equal eminence with Russia in the Communist world. For the present the Russian alliance is unassailable. Communist China's interests in regard to Korea, Japan, and Southeast Asia are more truly served by the alliance than by any other policy. So long as the United States is in fact allied with Japan, the

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real menace to China, the alliance with Russia is inevitable. Furthermore, according to Fitzgerald, most Chinese do not believe Russia threatens their country's integrity. He develops a strong case to show that Soviet Russia has not menaced China in any vital respect. In my opinion, however, this thesis requires an understatement of the real clash of interests in Manchuria and in Sinkiang, which Fitzgerald strangely neglects.

Fitzgerald is both sympathetic with and critical of American policy toward China. He sees us as victims of our conquest of Japan, with empire thrust upon us. We can neither retreat nor advance. To retreat would mean to abandon Japan, South Korea, and Indo-China to speedy Communist control or guidance. To advance would mean open war with China and therefore before long with Russia too. What is called "containing communism" by limited blockade, denial of recognition, refusal to admit the Peking government into the United Nations, protection of Formosa, and aid to France and Bao Dai in Indo-China only strengthens the regime in China. But war, whether ending in a "victory" for America or a stalemate, could not, in Fitzgerald's view, eliminate communism as an organized force in the broad land mass of Russia and China. It is here to stay. He offers no escape from this dilemma except the general formula of trying to reduce tension, bring China into the family of nations, and wait for hostility to cool off.

An important and controversial book for this election year.

C. MARTIN WILBUR

Inquiry as Tribute

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF HARRY STACK SULLIVAN. Edited by Patrick Mullahy. Hermitage House. $3.50.

HARRY STACK SULLIVAN was a person who did not fear to question axioms. Basic assumptions of the medical profession, of scientific method, of Freudian orthodoxy, of the organization of mental hospitals, the distinction between curable and incurable mental disease, the relation between psychoanalyst and patient—none of these was too well established or too sacrosanct to be exempt from his searching inquiry. In the light of fresh evidence he did not hesitate to call into question not only theories but the faith upon which any particular theory ultimately rests.

It is fitting, therefore, that this volume, a symposium occasioned by Sullivan's tragic death, edited by his close associate and interpreter, should contain not primarily eulogy or a new system of axioms but inquiry, appraisal, and criticism. The attitude of the contributors is not that of disciples but of fellow-students engaged in joint investigation. Their papers are notable for being concerned not so much with attribution of credit and priority of discovery as with the ideas themselves.

Much of the material included in these essays is familiar to anyone who has followed Sullivan's published work. But quotations from Sullivan's unpublished manuscripts, particularly in the chapter by Mary J. White, and fresh implications drawn from Sullivan's concepts, for example by Leonard S. Cottrell, add significantly to our understanding of his quickening influence on his associates, the reason why *Psychiatry,* of which he was chief founder, is "the least sectarian of all scientific periodicals" and why his coworkers desire not the enshrining of his work but its continuing development in full stream of change.

Two of Sullivan's central concepts are elaborated in this volume: psychiatry as the study of inter-personal relations, and anxiety as crucial in the formation of character. Both came to focus in the kind of relation that he as analyst developed with patients. Psychoanalytic treatment he regarded as one form of personal relations, with all the overtones and complexities which inhere in any human relation. Sullivan was never hypnotized by the role of analyst as expert; always a theory was tested by the patient, not the other way around. The basic responsibility of the therapist, in Sullivan's view, was "the ever-present awareness of the need to convey respect for the patient and to maintain the patient's own self-esteem." Anything which, instead, increased anxiety and decreased self-respect was poor analytic practice. He was never interested in the question of "who was guilty" or in proving the therapist right. Any contact between analyst and patient must be an experience in building self-respect. "One could not imagine Sullivan saying to a patient, 'Well, we have had a trial analysis and psychoanalysis cannot be of use to you. Goodby.' "

His genuine sense of the importance of the total social situation and his humility about analytic knowledge extended beyond a particular therapeutic relation to the conduct of mental hospitals and to the building of theory. He believed that in a mental hospital the attitude of the administration and the entire staff is more important in effecting cure than the skill of a particular therapist. In building theory on the basis of clinical data Sullivan believed that the analyst should always keep awareness of himself as a significant part of the data: "The therapist has an inescapable involvement in all that goes on in the interview; and to the extent that he is unconscious or unwitting in his participation in the interview, to that extent he does not know what is happening."

Certain points sometimes misunderstood in Sullivan's writings are clarified in this volume. Clara Thompson says that Sullivan's use of the word "power" for the basic drive in men toward growth and maturation misrepresented his meaning. Cottrell points out that Sullivan in his emphasis on pre-verbal and non-verbal means of communication between persons never fell into the error of disparaging or minimizing the importance of language. "He loved words and their meaning and played with them creatively to our lasting debt." Like Edward Sapir, with whom he had worked, he was endlessly interested in exploring the possibilities of verbal symbolism, the characteristically human form of communication.

In one area where he might have been expected to question axioms Sullivan refrained from doing so—the institutional structure of contemporary liberal society. Gardner Murphy says of this anomaly:

> Sullivan states that fear is rather rare in the civilized world. But for whom is it rare? And where? Does not the psychiatrist with an inter-personal view also need a world view?
>
> The community . . . taboos the use of its institutions for the open-minded study of many of the very problems from which insecurity arises. . . . Sullivan deplores the attempt to find a solution "on the far side of chaos." But . . . no solution on the *near* side of chaos is sug-

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gested. The attitude toward radical change as something fearful . . . is curious in a psychiatrist who dealt with getting patients to tear down their existing modes of operating in order to establish better modes.

The greatness of any thinker is measured in part by the extent to which his method offers the means of criticizing and enlarging his specific formulations. Sullivan's work will continue to grow as further inquiry uses his own methods to extend his conclusions.

HELEN M. LYND

The Facts of Economic Life

ECONOMIC FORCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By George Soule. William Sloane Associates. $6.

THIS new economic history of the American people is a tightly packed account of the changes in population, monetary usage, technology, foreign trade, living standards, and governmental functions which have marked our growth from colony to world power. No other economic history includes as much statistical information, presents it with as sure a command, or organizes it as simply and effectively around the central concepts of modern national-income accounting. Many teachers, including this one, will be grateful to Mr. Soule, will use his book as a reference, and will assign portions of it to their students. Every thoughtful reader will appreciate also its sustained tone of scientific impartiality. Although Mr. Soule says enough to imply that he favors a strong, democratic state devoted to the raising of living standards and the lessening of income inequality, he never distorts his narrative by unduly intruding these views.

Yet two reservations are unavoidable. In the first place, Mr. Soule's reliance on statistical materials leads him to summarize all American economic history before 1900 in 218 pages and to lavish 300 pages on the last half-century, a division reflecting the profusion of statistical data available in the later period rather than the comparative importance of the two time spans. It is always dangerously possible to think of the present as the product of the very recent past: Mr. Soule's approach does nothing to lessen this distortion of historical perspective. A second reservation arises from Mr. Soule's limitation of purpose. It is economic forces in which he is interested, and it is economic materials with which he largely deals. But can we understand even economic events unless they are cast in a broader matrix of political and social change? If at times this history reads like a succession of events in which causal links are missing, it may be because these links are to be found in areas little explored by Mr. Soule.

Despite these criticisms, both the curious and the learned will find it profitable to read Mr. Soule. Though he is more successful with the twentieth than with earlier centuries, his book as a whole is a valuable document.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

The Art of Spain

SPANISH PAINTING: FROM THE CATALAN FRESCOS TO EL GRECO. Text by Jacques Lassaigne. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Skira. $15.

THIS is the first of a two-volume coverage of Spanish painting. The second, "From Velasquez to Picasso," is announced for the fall. The format is similar to the three Skira volumes on modern painting and the two on painting of the Italian Renaissance. As in them, the emphasis is placed on the color reproductions, of which there are seventy in this book; the text, provided with extensive notes and bibliographies and a map, develops a cursive survey of the field. My chief comment, therefore, is directed toward the color plates.

The flat tones and brilliant hues employed by the Romanesque painters are admirably suited to modern color reproduction, except for the problem of catching the texture of painting on plaster, which can hardly be solved on paper with a high gloss. The first plate, however, with a frontal figure suggesting Dubuffet, is unusually successful, perhaps because of the extreme simplicity of the art in question. In general the tones of the plates are too strong but otherwise relatively accurate. Most of the work is reproduced here in color for the first time, and except for the El Grecos few color plates of even similar things have been available. The contribution is therefore considerable, particularly as Spanish art has too long been neglected as a merely provincial echo of other schools. Spanish Romanesque was no less productive or inventive than French work of the same period, and during the thirteenth century, when the Ile de France was establishing its stylistic hegemony, Romanesque trends continued in full force in Spain. Nowhere

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in Northern Europe at this time can the barred patterns of the panels from Mahamud (page 33) be found. During the later Gothic period Spanish painting achieved extraordinary heights in such artists as Bassa, Martorell, the Valencian master of Los Marti de Torres, Huguet, and Bermejo, until the fashion of imitating the forms of Italian Renaissance painting destroyed for a time the vigor of the local traditions. It is curious to find these fourteenth- and fifteenth-century masters grouped as "primitives," without any comment on the present uselessness of this term. The word presumably began life as an art-historical tag as an erroneous translation of the Italian and French words meaning "early." No one would think of calling Masaccio or Botticelli or even Giotto "primitive" today, and there is no better reason to call their Spanish contemporaries by such a name, particularly as they follow the well-documented and powerfully creative Romanesque schools.

During the sixteenth-century, prior to the arrival of El Greco in Spain, local court painters like Pantoja and Coello developed Mannerist portraiture to a high degree of polish and arrogance. It is unfortunate that only a single Coello is included from this group and that Morales, who suggests at least the vein in which El Greco worked, is not included at all. The El Grecos were chosen for the most part from important examples in Toledo and in the Prado not reproduced in color before. Four of the plates (pages 100, 103, 117, 121) also occur in the recent Abrams publication on El Greco, and in each instance the plate in the present volume is greatly to be preferred, overpigmented as they all undoubtedly are (Compare Abrams 70, 44, 103, 122). Such deviations from the truth should put the reader on his guard against color plates in general and remind him that they are only of value when he has seen enough originals, and seen them carefully enough, to make the fundamental and indispensable adjustments. I have never seen the St. Ildefonso (page 114), but I do not believe in this reproduction.

The text by Lassaigne, which is well translated, gives a useful summary of the history of the subject. It is almost devoid, however, of original observations.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Books in Brief

LANDS BEYOND. By L. Sprague de Camp and Willy Ley. Rinehart. $4.75. Though obviously a man with a solid scientific background, Mr. Ley loves wonders, and all his books deal with either the fabulous past or the fabulous future. Unicorns and rocket ships seem to appeal to him equally, since the one permits him to write learnedly about what may possibly have been and the other enables him to write with equal learning about what possibly may be. The present book is presented as the result of a collaboration, but it certainly sounds like Mr. Ley—which means that it is both briskly written and provided with what appears to be careful documentation. This time the rather loosely defined subject is the exploration of or at least speculation about geographical regions presumed to exist at one time or another but either imperfectly known or not known at all. This gets in Atlantis, the Kingdom of Prester John, China, the Antarctic Continent, and even Columbus's America, with side dissertations on the flat-earth and the

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hollow-earth theories. Mr. Ley's previous "Rockets and Space Travel" could be recommended to those who wanted a more sensible equivalent for "science fiction"; "Lands Beyond" is for those who want the appeal of "The Journey to the Center of the Earth" or "The Lost World" in similarly more adult form.

THE LETTERS OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. Selected and with an Introduction by Kathleen Raine. The British Book Center. $3.50. This useful selection from Coleridge's vast correspondence consists of 141 letters all of which have been published earlier. It is provided with annotations sufficient to enable the general reader to follow the pattern of Coleridge's life. But as Miss Raine says in her illuminating introduction, "No life suffers more than does Coleridge's from any attempt to reduce it to the personal level. Ill-health, humiliation, and confusion characterize the outward history. Flashes of poetic vision, the deep soundings of metaphysical intuition and of spiritual revelation—these were the real events." Certainly the personal element in these letters is largely the history of a series of catastrophes; self-pity, self-denunciation, and self-consciousness are, shockingly, almost omnipresent. Fortunately the other and more important side of Coleridge is also revealed in them, especially in the later letters when the miserable self had been largely stripped down to the essential "poor dark creature"—so Coleridge defined himself late in life—who did possess in abundance intuition and revelation and spiritual grandeur. Finally, if they lack the amusing anecdotes which we usually expect of the correspondence of authors, they contain lyric passages describing the Lake Country which have all the power of the greatest romantic poetry.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN. Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Tudor Publishing Company. $7.50. This distinguished volume in The Library of Living Philosophers consists of twenty-three descriptive and critical essays on the philosophy of Radhakrishnan by American, British, and Indian scholars, preceded by Radhakrishnan's own "fragments of a confession" entitled The Religion of the Spirit and the World's Need and followed by his reply to his critics. A number of the essays, such as that by George P. Conger on Radhakrishnan's World, are careful studies, fully documented and critically important. Radhakrishnan, widely read in Western and Oriental philosophy alike, ancient and modern, is true to his Indian heritage in treating philosophy as a handmaid to religion, and his discussions are largely concerned with religion. As such they constitute one of India's contemporary contributions to the world's intellectual life.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE records I will be discussing from now on will have been played on the machine I use in the country—a large table model with an effective range to about 7000 cycles, which doesn't give a dependable idea of their sound from a wide-range machine. That will have to wait until I can play them again in New York; and I will report then whatever calls for mention.

Mozart's Piano Concerto K.488, one of the greatest of the series—with one of the loveliest of the first movements, one of the most affecting of the slow movements, and one of the most exciting of the finales—is on a Columbia record, played by Gieseking with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Von Karajan's direction. I think the slow movement calls for something more powerful than Gieseking's finely chiseled playing; nevertheless it is a beautiful performance and quite the best I have heard on records. The orchestral part also is played beautifully; and the recording allows its marvelous details to be heard clearly. On the reverse side is Franck's Symphonic Variations, one of his best pieces. I have the impression that Gieseking plays the second theme more slowly and sentimentally this time than on the old 78 records; otherwise his performance is again the definitive one, with Von Karajan providing an excellent orchestral framework for it.

Rehearing the Piano Concerto K.537 after a long interval I am struck by the wonderful things that happen every now and then in one of the lesser examples of the genre. Gina Bachauer's performance of the solo part on the RCA record is fluent and lively; and there is an additional warmth in the fine playing of the New London (England) Orchestra under Alec Sherman's direction. On the reverse side is, inappropriately, the Liszt-Busoni Rhapsodie Espagnole.

The lovely Clarinet Concerto K.620 has been recorded for the Haydn Society by Louis Cahuzac with the Chamber Orchestra of the Danish State Radio under Wöldike's direction. The playing is very fine but lacking in animation,

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especially in the finale; comparison with the Kell-Zimbler Sinfonietta performance will have to wait until New York; and I will report then whether the sound still has the shrillness it has on my present machine. But I can say now that a more consequential work should have been put on the reverse side than the mildly engaging Haydn Symphony No. 61, which is played well.

Another questionable coupling, this one by London, gives us Haydn's Symphony No. 45 ("Farewell"), of which the Trio of the Minuet and the final Adagio are the best parts (the humorous effect of the diminishing orchestra at the end requires the eye as well as the ear), and Wagner's "Siegfried-Idyll." Good performances by the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger's direction.

Handel's Concertos in F and B flat for string and wind instruments, which seem to have been written for outdoor performances, are largely instrumental reworkings of popular sections of his oratorios, with some newly composed material in addition. Both are highly enjoyable works, and are excellently performed on a Haydn Society record by the Orchestra of the Collegium Musicum of Copenhagen under Lavard Friisholm's direction.

Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4 is on a Columbia record, played by Gieseking with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Von Karajan's direction. This time Gieseking plays the piano's opening statement without the staccatos that falsified its meaning in his old performance; but I still find his smoothly rounded off playing less effective than the tensions and distentions of Schnabel's powerful phrasing. The orchestra's climaxes come off the record with excessive volume.

The four Berlioz overtures on a Urania record comprise the two best-known, the brilliant "Roman Carnival" and delightful "Beatrice and Benedict," and two that are infrequently played, "King Lear" and "The Corsair." The relation of the "King Lear" and "The Corsair" to their titles is obscure (I can see some relation in the first, none in the second) and not important; the working of the Berlioz mind, however, I find intensely interesting in each; and in addition the quiet opening section of "The Corsair" is wonderfully beautiful, the opening of "King Lear" a magnificent operation of the Berlioz large apparatus. Jean Martinon's tempos for "The Roman Carnival" and "Beatrice and Benedict" are slower than we usually hear, but he makes them work; and all the performances with the Lamoureux Orchestra are excellent.

A seemingly informed reader has written to observe that "the trouble with such a book as Mr. Burke's [on reproducing equipment] is that it is out of date before it is published." Thus, the Fairchild pickup cartridge that Mr. Burke recommended has already been superseded. "The Weathers cartridge, which was such an improvement over conventional cartridges a few months ago, caused other manufacturers to get to work, so that we have now a much improved G. E. cartridge, a vastly improved Pickering cartridge, and an improved Fairchild infinitely better than the old, and that much more ahead of the rest." So with speakers. The LC-1A, which Mr. Burke didn't mention, "is probably the best direct radiator speaker ever made, if you get a good one (and they do vary considerably). Its real fault is its failure to reproduce clean low-frequency fundamentals"—though "I have heard LC-1As mounted in back-loaded horns which did fabulous jobs, and LC-1As mounted in the Brociner Ductflex Enclosure which fully satisfied every technical ear but the most critical. . . . However, Brociner has recently introduced a new line of horn systems using the Lowther unit, which gives the most natural, most unstrained reproduction of high frequencies I have ever heard. And Mr. Burke had no chance to hear these units before he published his recommendations." I see now that I must investigate these items of equipment and report on them.

CONTRIBUTORS

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HELEN M. LYND, author of "England in the Eighteen-Eighties: Toward a Social Basis for Freedom," is on the staff of Sarah Lawrence College.

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Letters to the Editors

Labeling: A Racist Technique

Dear Sirs: May I draw the attention of your readers to the fight of the City Club of Chicago against the practice of labeling a man a Negro in a newspaper or periodical? Such labeling tends to establish false standards and to breed prejudice. Last year the City Club published a pamphlet condemning the practice in the Chicago *Tribune*. The campaign had considerable success, although the *Tribune* still uses labeling in some of its news stories. Now, to follow up its modest victory, the club has issued another pamphlet containing an equally devastating and logical attack on labeling. Its example might well stimulate liberal organizations in other communities to launch similar campaigns.

Chicago JOHN G. HADSERY

A Message of Gratitude

Dear Sirs: You are doubtless aware that the death sentence of my husband, Oscar Collazo, was recently commuted to life imprisonment by President Truman. He has sent me the following letter from jail with the request that it be published if possible:

. . . I want you to send a message to each and everyone of the Latin American governments or organizations in those countries that officially or in any other way interceded on my behalf. The same to all those publications that in their own disinterested way brought to public knowledge the truth about the case; but most of all, to those that made known to millions of persons all over the world the reality of political conditions in our country and the suffering inflicted on hundreds of our countrymen whose only crime has been their great love of freedom and their unabated courage in the defense of Puerto Rican liberty.

To that committee you spoke to me about, my everlasting gratitude; to Señorita Isabel Cuchí Coll and the Quinteros, whom I've heard you mention since the start of my trial, my great admiration and profound gratitude; to Vicente Cubillas and the magazine *Bohemia*, through whose efforts the old spirit of fraternity between my people and the people of Cuba has been augmented a thousand-fold; to all those Americans who forgot about the divisions of race and political creeds to give themselves to the service of a good cause; to Mr. Unger; to all the thousands of persons

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who backed with their signatures the defense of a humble and to them an unknown man, thus showing the real Christian spirit of mercy; to all religious organizations that held services for my spiritual guidance and comfort.

But above all let us give thanks to God, without whose guidance and support nothing can be accomplished; He never failed me.

I will ask you once more not to expect me to be able to remember everybody and everything I would like to say; please help me in this matter and if I've forgotten somebody, give them your own message.

To my people, as always, give them a message of gratitude and tell them that no prison will be enough to kill in me the great love I feel for them and the determination to keep alive those sentiments that have always been part of my life. Our goal is full independence and we shall never rest until we have achieved it. Justice has to be done to us sometime, but never if we don't continue to work hard for the ideals in which we so firmly believe. . . .

OSCAR COLLAZO

May I add my own sincere thanks for bringing my husband's case to the attention of your readers by publishing a letter from his attorney in your July 12 issue.

New York ROSITA COLLAZO

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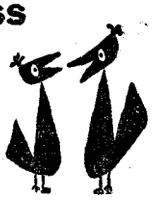

The Negro Nurse

Dear Sirs: In your issue of June 7 you published an article by Robert Cunningham, Jr., editor of *Modern Hospital,* on discrimination against Negro doctors by hospitals. Medical institutions also discriminate against Negro nurses, although the practice is not quite so widespread. Discrimination against Negro nurses has been falling off sharply for several years thanks mainly to the work of the American Nurses' Association. Recently the *Physicians' Forum Bulletin* announced that the A. N. A. had adopted a resolution strongly urging all state and district nurses' associations to eliminate racial qualifications for membership; at the A. N. A.'s last biennial convention a Negro was elected to the board of directors for the first time. As a result of the A. N. A. efforts state and district associations of forty-three states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Alaska now accept all registered nurses applying for admission, regardless of color or creed. There is still a long hard fight in front of the A. N. A. and other organizations which oppose discrimination against Negroes in hospitals and nursing schools. Only 21 per cent of this country's nursing schools accept Negroes. But since the A. N. A. program was inaugurated in 1950 the number of schools open to Negroes has jumped from 76 to 236. The A. N. A. and the organizations affiliated with it in the fight to cleanse the nursing profession of Jim Crow are to be congratulated.

New York MARTHA P. BREWMAN

Kefauver: High and Dry?

Dear Sirs: Your magazine now informs us that "leaders of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party should have foreseen the need for unity on a platform, a strategy, and a candidate" [The Price of Unity, *The Nation,* August 2].

It is interesting to note how well *The Nation* itself followed this advice. It plugged to the bitter end for a candidate who received exactly one convention vote when the chips were down! Meanwhile, of course, it ignored completely the liberal who worked his heart out to build up a fine plurality for progressivism and managed to hold it through half the convention despite his pusillanimous colleagues.

Now Senator Kefauver and Governor Browning—left high and dry on the Virginia issue by the featless crusaders of the left—must come back here to face the vicious gibes of the conservatives who have been waiting for just such an opportunity as this to discredit the liberal movement in Tennessee.

Perhaps if the liberals will follow *The Nation's* lead through a few more conventions, we can succeed in handing the presidential nomination a few years hence to Herman Talmadge or Jim Farley!

Nashville, Tenn. LEE LEVITT

The Power Trust and the Consumer

Dear Sirs: Having just finished reading the very fine report of the meeting of the Electric Consumers Conference in Washington, Battling the Private Power Lobby, in your June 7 issue, we want to congratulate you and the author, Barrow Lyons.

Too infrequently have other publications had the courage and insight to support the struggle of consumers to escape the inequities imposed upon them by the private-utility monopoly. The conference, as Mr. Lyons so ably recognized, brought together leaders of organizations which sometimes have conflicting viewpoints but which have stood shoulder to shoulder, determined to answer the multi-million-dollar propaganda of the nation's arrogant power trust.

Magazines like yours must tell the truth bluntly and intelligently, as Mr. Lyons told it, if the propaganda so handsomely financed by business monopolies is not to distort the thinking of the American people to such an extent that they will surrender their American heritage of freedom at the polls. That is the political objective of the propaganda, and its inroads are already too apparent. CLYDE T. ELLIS,
Executive Manager, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association
Washington

CORRECTION: In Earl B. Dickerson's article, The Negro and the High Court, in *The Nation* for July 12, a long passage was condensed to read: "On the international scene American injustice to the Negro has propaganda value for the Kremlin and therefore must be condemned." Mr. Dickerson rightly points out that this condensation misrepresents his view that the argument against discrimination in America is too often based solely on the idea that it is used by Russia as an anti-American propaganda tool.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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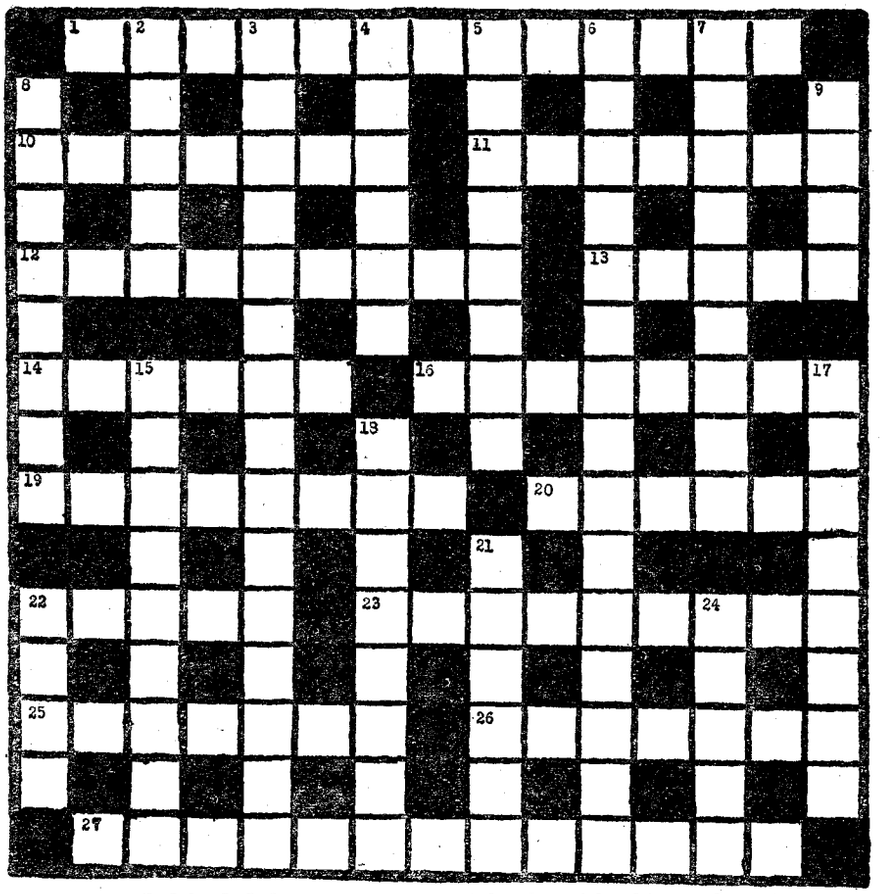
Crossword Puzzle No. 479

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Sinister near the station, but really didn't get started (4, 2, 3, 4)
10 It seems to ask for a devilish kind of learning. (7)
11 Time to get dressed around here. (Ties on top, perhaps.) (7)
12 A la mode? (9)
13 The devil and Mr. Carter, for example. (Either one could be in the groove!) (5)
14 Refuse to go in it—it might introduce the enemy to Davy Jones. (3, 3)
16 Everything in moribund surroundings is acting indecisively. (8)
19 Get rid of an American painter? It will eventually meet its match anyway! (8)
20 See 22 down.
22 Leading men would make this into a place to look for 3 down, to promise the answer. (5)
23 O'Neill said one couldn't be designed without it looking like the First Supernatural Bank! (9)
25 If you want a little air in the hall, this might suffice. (7)
26 Charity case. (7)
27 Preparing the casualty list? (4, 9)

DOWN

2 Sounds like a small mountain appears vacant. (5)
3 Material of which the wild parrot's cote is made. (8, 7)
4 Deals with things that don't cost anything. (6)
5 The air can't make a synonym for this. (4, 4)
6 Dick certainly shouldn't go to a fancy dress ball! (5-7, 3)
7 Underwriter? (9)
8 What one might do at the hotel for the constable, perhaps. (8)
9 One wouldn't expect them to be given the favorite. (4)
15 If you do last to first, you might not have to lock the barn door. (9)
17 A sort of starchy foodstuff over the mark of volatile liquid. (8)
18 How to get a number in shape for the meeting. (8)
21 What Foch planned to do with his center giving way and his right pushed back. (6)
22 and 20 across. Sewer, with quite a strain on the joining point. (10)
24 If this had a quiet end, some Swiss might speak it. (5)

—•—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 478

ACROSS:—1 OUT ON A LIMB; 6 EPIC; 10 EARRING; 12 PEDESTAL; 17 HAPPINESS; 19 COTTER PIN; 21 GET ON; 23 EDICT; 24 DIABETES; 27 EMBROIL; 28 and 16 down PRIMARY ELECTION; 29 GLEE; 30 GAZETTEERS.

DOWN:—2 TORMENT; 3 NAIVE; 4 LIGHTSHIP; 5 MABEL; 7 PROMOTE; 8 COMPRISING; 9 TRIFLING; 14 POACHED EGG; 18 PINEAPPLE; 20 THIMBLE; 22, 15, 11 and 13 THE FACE ON THE BARROOM FLOOR; 24 DELTA; 25 EVICT; 26 and 1 EYESORES.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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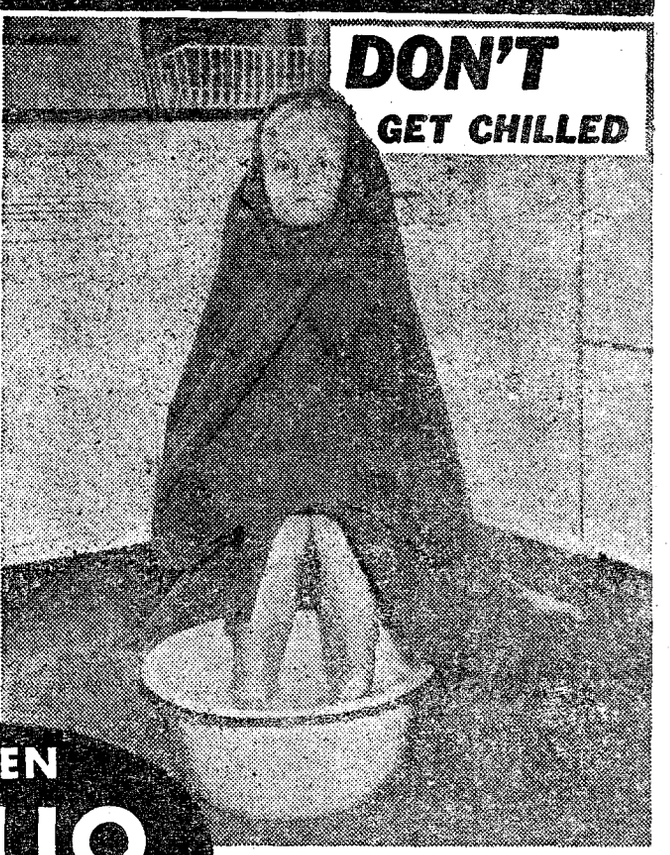

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